

# FABIAN QUARTERLY

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**THE NATIONAL HEALTH SERVICE BILL**

by Dr. D. E. Bunbury

**BUILDING BY DIRECT LABOUR**

by E. J. Cole and T. H. Joyce

**MINERS' WELFARE** by COALFACE

### Notes, Etc.

Bills and White Papers—February to April 1946

In and Around Number Eleven

Book Reviews

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## EDITORIAL

The beginning of the 64th year of the Society's work finds us with over 5,000 national members and 3,000 members of local Societies, and with a programme of research and education adjusted to the needs of a Labour Government in power and Labour majorities on a greatly increased number of local authorities. The only limit on the expansion of the Society's influence and prestige—and it is a severe one—is that set by resources hopelessly inadequate to finance the increasing scope of our activities.

The Annual Report of the Executive Committee defines the fourfold function of the Fabian Society of today, in cooperation with other bodies.

First, on a basis of sound research to expound the principles and beliefs of Socialism in terms of the modern world, so that those who are entering our movement young may understand what they are struggling for and with what weapons. Second, to look ahead beyond the programme in *Let Us Face the Future* towards the discussions of future Labour administration; and to initiate full discussion of the steps to be taken well ahead of the final shaping of future Party Programmes. Third, to act as advisers and consultants during the execution of the current programme on the many questions which are bound to arise and the new situations which could not have been foreseen in 1945. And fourth, to act as a recruiting and training ground for the thousands of people, particularly in the provinces, who must be found to fill the key positions and positions of trust, if the change ordered by the nation in June is to be carried out in reality.

This issue of the *Quarterly* deals with three topical issues of domestic policy. The principles of the National Health Bill have been obscured by a spate of hostile propaganda and it is important that the public should understand exactly what is involved. Many new Labour majorities are introducing or considering the question of direct labour to help with their housing programmes. The article on Miners' Welfare deals with one of the many practical problems arising from the translation of a nationalisation policy from an Act of Parliament into a working socialist system. In the next number we hope to include another general survey of six months' work of the Government. A list of the Bills and principal White Papers issued during the last three months continues that printed in the last issue.



# THE NATIONAL HEALTH SERVICE BILL AND ITS SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS

by D. E. Bunbury, M.B., M.R.C.P.

It is interesting to look back to the pre-war years, when those of us who wished to see a reorganisation in the health services of the country were in a small minority, and to consider the profound change in public opinion which has made possible a Bill such as is now before the House. The snow-ball effect dates back a long way, to the early work of the Fabians who were perhaps the first to express their conviction that all was far from well with the health services, while the consistent work of the Socialist Medical Association since 1930 added considerable and increasing weight to these views. The publication in 1937 of the P E P "Report on the British Health Services", and the Pelican based on it, shook the general complacency severely, by showing up "the maze, the unwieldiness, the overlap, the uneconomy, the lack of integration, of our Health Services".

The effect of the war was considerable. The disorganisation of the services in the early months was tremendous, but later the staffs of municipal and voluntary hospitals, who had had a minimum of contact before, found in the Emergency Medical Service that the war-time regional organisation of hospitals (and, in London, the sector system) had considerable advantages.

As early as 1932 the Labour Party adopted a health policy which demanded a comprehensive health service, free at time of need, and its 1944 pamphlet, "A National Service for Health", outlined a programme which became an important plank in the Election. Eight months later the National Health Service Bill came before the House.

Three outstanding principles are set out in the Bill, and in the White Paper which summarises it. The aim, stated in the first clause, is "the establishment of a comprehensive health service designed to secure improvement in the physical and mental health of the people of England and Wales and the prevention, diagnosis and treatment of illness". The service is to be available to all, even an insurance qualification being unnecessary. It embodies therefore one of the fundamental principles of socialism—to each according to his need. The other two principles, considered below, are the establishment of a unified hospital service, and the development of Health Centres. The importance of these three provisions cannot be over-estimated. They make possible the growth of a health service far in advance of anything so far available in this country. A similar Bill to provide for Scotland will be introduced later.

## HOSPITAL AND SPECIALIST SERVICES

The major defects in our present hospital services are that the voluntary hospitals in general exist as isolated units, while the municipal hospitals, so much improved since the Local Government Act of 1929, are limited by boundaries which have a minimum of correspondence with the facts of geography and communication.

The Bill provides that the Minister shall take over all hospitals, both voluntary and local government, including sanatoria, fever and mental hospitals,

convalescent and rehabilitation hospitals, and all forms of specialised treatment, such as orthopaedics and neuro-surgery. This offers a tremendous opportunity to bring about an all-round improvement in the standards of hospitals, which vary from the very high to the very low.

Hospital administration will be in the hands of Regional Hospital Boards, of which there will be from 16 to 20 for the country. Their members will be appointed by the Minister after consultation with any university in the region, with bodies representative of the medical profession, the local health authority, and those with experience of voluntary hospitals, but the number of members is not specified. There has been much discussion on the constitution of these Boards, which seem to be a compromise arrived at to satisfy the doctors' objection to working in a service organised by the local authorities. Criticisms are made from two opposing points of view, one objecting on the grounds that they give too much power to the local health authorities, and the other because they may not be responsive to democratic opinion.

Local Hospital Management Committees, under the Regional Boards, will be responsible for individual large hospitals or groups of smaller ones.

The major local authorities have expressed little criticism of these provisions which take away from them the hospitals of whose improvement they have justifiably been proud. Sir Bernard Docker, speaking for the British Hospitals Association, has spoken emotionally of the "mass murder" of the voluntary hospitals, and, like the B M A, talks about the destruction of local interest. The Bill provides, however, that the Boards will enjoy a high degree of independence and autonomy, and they will be given as much financial freedom as possible, so as to make for local initiative and variety of enterprise.

Special provisions are made for the teaching hospitals, which link them closely with the universities and give them considerably more independence than other hospitals, and the development of new teaching hospitals is envisaged in the Bill. The White Paper states that although special arrangements may be made for teaching hospitals, this "does not mean, however, that these hospitals do not form an integral part of the hospital service as a whole". Some are not reassured by this double negative.

The hospital service includes not only hospital accommodation but also the services of specialists, "whether at a hospital, a health centre . . . or a clinic, or, if necessary on medical grounds, at the home of the patient". These services will be organised by the Boards. Part-time specialists may continue in private practice, and the pay-bed system is to be retained but is subject to the overriding requirements of patients who need such accommodation on medical grounds. These arrangements appear to have satisfied the specialists, as there have been noticeably few protests from them. A good deal of criticism has, however, come from other quarters because, although theoretically the prior right of the non-paying patient on medical grounds is safeguarded, the question of who determines the use of such beds is all-important when it comes to practical applications, and this is not defined in the Bill.

## GENERAL PRACTITIONER SERVICES

National Health Insurance, which seemed such a revolutionary measure in 1911, had two major defects. First it covered only the insured worker, whose dependents had to make shift medically as best they could, and secondly it provided only the service which the general practitioner, as an isolated unit, could give.

The Bill includes under the term general practitioner service, the medical, dental and pharmaceutical services, whether based on Health Centres or not. Specialist advice and special examinations will be available through the hospital and specialist service.



Free choice of doctor by patient, one of the B M A's principles, is covered by an arrangement analogous to the present under N H I. Another B M A principle, the importance of the patient-doctor relationship, is also safeguarded. The B M A professes to be much exercised on this point and in its leaflet, "You and the National Health Service", which is being handed out in large numbers to the public, says, "Your Doctor will no longer be *Your* Doctor. He will cease to be 'your' doctor because he will also owe loyalty to the state. No man can serve two masters. He will, in the long run, be subject to direction". (In parenthesis, it is interesting that the B M A apparently considers that up to now the doctor has not owed loyalty to the state.) As the White Paper says, "The relationship of the doctor with any person on his list . . . will then be similar to the ordinary relationship of doctor to patient as it is now known, except that the doctor's remuneration will come from public funds and not directly from the patient".

A main objection of the B M A appears to centre on the method of payment of the general practitioner. The *Lancet*, in its leader of April 6, 1946, gives a conclusive answer to this: "The traditions of medicine are not concerned with particular modes of remuneration but with a particular kind of service", and in the same leader it says, "In a sharply competitive world, the dependence of most medical men and women on payment of a fee for each service rendered has led to abuses which we need not enumerate but which ought not to be forgotten at this moment. The truth is that the doctor-patient relationship in its modern form needs improvement rather than preservation; it can never be wholly satisfactory while the doctor (as someone has put it) is not only a friend in need but a friend in need of the patient's money; nor while there is competition rather than cooperation between him and his colleagues".

Doctors in the service may continue to treat patients privately, but not those on their own list nor their partner's in the service. As, however, everyone will be entitled to make full use of the new service, it seems likely that private practice will diminish considerably. It remains to be seen whether the precautions against a medical black market will prove effective.

The buying and selling of practices, although it exists in some other countries, does so to a much smaller extent than it does here. A high proportion of doctors borrow the money to buy a practice and are saddled with a millstone of debt for many years. Now the buying and selling of practices is to cease, and doctors are to be compensated so generously (£66 million for the whole country) that some medical organisations talk of "bribery".

Doctors and dentists, who have repeatedly expressed their unwillingness to be employed by local authorities, will be in contract with local Executive Councils, half of whose members will be appointed by local professional organisations. There will be an Executive Council in the area of each local health authority, though in some cases one Council may cover two or more such areas.

The Bill provides that practitioners shall be remunerated on a part-salary basis, the remainder being made up of capitation fees, which will diminish in scale as the number of patients on a doctor's list rises. This will go far to check the present inducement to a doctor under N H I to accept as patients more persons than he can adequately care for. The actual rates of remuneration, which naturally arouse considerable interest among general practitioners, will be settled after consideration of the Spens Committee report. There is a large body of opinion that considers that until the competitive financial aspects of general practice are removed by a full-time salaried service, modern medical team-work at its best cannot develop. The Bill makes no provision for those G P's who would like to work on a salaried basis, but groups of doctors practising from a Health Centre will be encouraged to pool their joint remuneration.

## DISTRIBUTION OF DOCTORS

The present distribution of doctors, both general practitioner and specialist, is generally agreed to be inequitable. They are plentiful in the richer areas, but scarce in the poorer ones, the discrepancy being such that there may be four times as many patients per doctor in the poorer districts as in the more affluent ones. As regards the G P the Bill proposes two solutions. The first provides that the basic part-salary may vary with different areas, so as to attract doctors by a financial inducement to the less popular districts. The second is the establishment of the Medical Practices Committee, to which any doctor coming into the service, after its inception, must make application. If the area where he wishes to practice is already sufficiently supplied, the Committee can refuse his application. The distribution of specialists will be in the hands of the Regional Hospital Boards, whose duty it is to provide an adequate service.

## HEALTH CENTRES

As long ago as 1920 the Dawson Report suggested that there were considerable advantages in the establishment of Health Centres. A number of local authorities, notably Finsbury and Darwen, built health centres, at which the local authority individual health services, such as Maternity and Child Welfare, were concentrated, but general practitioner services have not hitherto been run from them.

The Bill regards the development of Health Centres in each area as a main feature of the personal practitioner services. They are to provide facilities not only for the general practitioner and dental services, and for the supply of medicines, but also for the local authority clinics, and for health education. The White Paper adds, though this is omitted from the Bill, that they may sometimes provide "out-post clinics of the hospital and specialist services". Thus, under one roof, it will be possible to provide all aspects of the service apart from the hospital. "The out-post clinic" of the hospital service is a function of the Health Centre which many hope to see developed on a very large scale. The urgent need, for instance, for out-patient facilities for the treatment of cases of neuroses, which was shown so clearly in C. P. Blacker's recently published report, is a case in point.

The home nursing service will be based on Health Centres, and so will the provision of home helps, not only during confinement, but to "any household in which it is needed on grounds of ill-health, maternity, age or the welfare of children".

Health Centres will be provided, equipped and maintained by the major local authorities, and the personnel working there will be employed by them, except for doctors and dentists.

## PREVENTIVE SERVICES

The Bill has been criticised on the grounds that it does not provide for the prevention of illness. The best form of prevention is of course to ensure the optimum environment for health, which includes good housing, food, clothing, working conditions and opportunities for rest and recreation; no medical service, however complete, can ensure a healthy nation where these are lacking. The critics of the Bill would presumably not expect it to deal with these things. On other grounds, however, the criticism appears to be unfounded. There are a number of important provisions, some of them new and others an amplification of existing powers, which are directly preventive in their action. Health education as one of the functions of the Health Centre



has already been mentioned, but its importance must be stressed. People are anxious to know how to keep fit, and the success of the relatively small amount of work carried out hitherto in this country, and of the large scale propaganda campaigns for health in the Soviet Union, give an idea of the influence for positive health that health education can have.

Health visiting, again, at present concerned with mothers and children, can become of great preventive importance, and the Bill widens the concept of health visiting into a more general service of advice to households where there is sickness or where help of a preventive character may be needed.

A new power is given to local authorities, which if used imaginatively, will have considerable influence. They can make arrangements for the prevention of illness and the care and after-care of the sick, which may take the form of provision of special foods, blankets and extra comforts.

These three preventive facilities are concentrated where they should be, in the hands of the local health authorities.

## ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM

The administrative provisions at first seem complicated, but they are simplicity itself in comparison with the present system (or lack of system). Centrally there is to be a Central Health Services Council with advisory functions and professional members. There will further be central Standing Advisory Committees dealing with various technical aspects, such as nursing or mental health. The third central body is the Medical Practices Committee, concerned with the distribution of doctors.

Peripherally, there are three bodies. First, and covering a large area, are the Regional Hospital Boards. Locally, there are the County and County Borough Councils, which become the local health authorities: and in the same areas the Local Executive Councils, responsible for the work of general practitioners and dentists.

The minor local authorities lose their present health service duties, though it is possible that the local health authorities may be permitted to delegate health functions to them. The question is, of course, of particular importance with regard to the Metropolitan Borough Councils, whose population is greater than that of some County Councils and County Borough Councils.

There has been much criticism of this peripheral administrative triarchy on the grounds that the service will be divided into water-tight compartments.

Readers of the *Fabian Quarterly* do not need to be reminded that there is a considerable consensus of opinion that local government in this country needs drastic overhaul and that reorganisation on a regional basis is best. It is to be hoped that Regional Hospital Boards will be a temporary expedient pending the reform of local government, which will inevitably take some years, and that ultimately they will be composed of democratically elected members of the Regional Council and will be responsible for all aspects of the health service in the Region.

Meanwhile, however, there are several important links between the three parts of the service. Centrally, of course, there is the Minister and, at the extreme periphery, the patient, a link whose importance should by no means be overlooked. The plans of the local health authorities have to be made known to the Regional Hospital Boards, and the presence on the Hospital Management Committees of individual hospitals and on the Executive Councils, of representatives of the local authorities will also make for adequate integration of the different parts of the service. Finally, the Bill encourages the part-time employment of the same personnel by the different bodies responsible for the service. Taken as a whole, there seems to be no reason why the service should not function in an integrated fashion.



## CONCLUSION

This is an "enabling" Bill and many of its proposals will need much elaboration in the Regulations to be made. These will need the most careful scrutiny, because the manner in which they interpret the clauses of the Bill will determine to a very large extent whether the new service is to be satisfactory. A case in point is the Health Centre, about whose details the Bill is disappointingly vague. As far as Health Centres go at present, they do not appear to offer nearly enough encouragement to the general practitioner to leave his isolated surgery and become a member of the health centre team. Another instance is the need for Hospital and Health Centre Committees, similar to Joint Production Committees in industry. Such Committees are essential to provide for democracy within the service, but they are not mentioned in the Bill.

There is one very serious omission, and that is the Industrial Health Service. The provision of doctors and nurses in factories, one of the great advances of medicine during the war, should surely be included. A service that covers all the health aspects of a person's life, except his working hours, can hardly claim to be comprehensive.

Even with this omission, however, there is no doubt at all that the Bill represents the greatest opportunity that has ever been given to this country for the development of a health service which from the point of view of the patient, which must be paramount, will provide everything he needs in the way of health care, and which will give the health worker the opportunity of contributing to the service under good conditions, and of working in association with other members of the medical team, with all the impetus to professional enthusiasm that this provides.

# BUILDING BY DIRECT LABOUR

by E. G. Cole and T. H. Joyce

The building of houses by direct labour was one of the ambitions of the early socialists who sought to gain control of the local councils. They believed that the housing of the people was the responsibility of the local authority. Appalled by the haphazard planning and jerry-building in the past, particularly in respect of dwellings for the working classes, they wanted to create new housing standards. Many of these men were themselves in the building or allied trades and, because of their experience, knew that to achieve this they must undertake the job themselves. In addition, they regarded it as an approach to the socialisation of the building industry.

Encouragement has not been forthcoming from the successive Tory governments. In fact, it is true to say that invariably opposition has been encountered. It is not surprising, therefore, to find now that Local Authorities are being called upon to prepare schemes, there is little available information from which to draw. Those councils who have established for themselves a reputation in the field of housing are receiving numerous and urgent appeals for assistance and guidance. The lack of knowledge as to the possibilities or principles of a direct labour scheme becomes increasingly obvious.

## A TYPICAL EXAMPLE—EDMONTON

This article does not claim to be based upon any nation-wide research; something of this nature is anticipated at a later date. Limited enquiries have already been made and it is surprising how few local authorities have had experience in building houses by direct labour. We have used as a basis the knowledge and experience gained by the Labour council in the Borough of Edmonton over the past twenty years.

Like most other London suburbs, the cessation of the 1914-18 war found them with an acute housing shortage. The Labour Party gained control of the council in 1920 and built 232 houses by contract. They lost their majority in 1922 and building operations were suspended. In 1924 they regained power and immediately devoted their attention to building.

They commenced their first direct labour building scheme in 1925 and up to the outbreak of the war had built 1,880 houses by this method. This was in addition to various public buildings. In all, 14 separate schemes were involved, each one being completed below estimate. So successful were they, that in some cases the Ministry allowed them to proceed without first obtaining competitive tenders. The houses built were of various types, ranging from the two-bedroom house, of 620 feet super, for aged families to the five-bedroom type, of 1,250 feet super, for large families. The majority of the houses were semi-detached and the average density was 12 to the acre. The total saving on approved estimates has already exceeded £40,000. The individual costs on the last completed scheme in 1939 were:—

621 feet super	...	...	...	£305
776 feet super	...	...	...	£335
849 feet super	...	...	...	£365
922 feet super	...	...	...	£400
967 feet super	...	...	...	£435



Typical examples as to how individual schemes have worked out are shown:—

*Working against outside tender,*

Erection of 88 houses, construction of roads and sewers :—				
Lowest outside tender	...	...	...	£33,139
Direct Labour Department's estimate	...	...	...	31,145
Completed cost	...	...	...	26,963
Saving on lowest outside tender	...	...	...	6,176
Saving on Department's estimate	...	...	...	4,182
Erection of 25 houses :—				
Lowest outside tender	...	...	...	£9,465
Direct Labour Department's estimate	...	...	...	8,547
Completed cost	...	...	...	8,078
Saving on lowest outside tender	...	...	...	1,387
Saving on Department's estimate	...	...	...	469

*Working without outside tender,*

Erection of 76 houses :—				
Department's estimate	...	...	...	£22,796
Completed cost	...	...	...	21,470
Saving on Department's estimate	...	...	...	1,326
Erection of 42 houses :—				
Department's estimate	...	...	...	£13,395
Completed cost	...	...	...	13,224
Saving on Department's estimate	...	...	...	171

Trade Union conditions have been maintained throughout the whole of the schemes and wages in excess of the Trade Union minimum have been paid. Labour has been recruited through the local Trade Union branches. All jobs are so planned that wet weather interferes with the work to a minimum degree. In 1937 the Department introduced their own "Holidays with Pay" scheme for the operatives, this being considerably in advance of the adoption of any such scheme by the building trade generally. Throughout it has been an example of success through cooperation.

The Housing Committee has been fortunate to have among its numbers members of the building and allied trades and has developed a bulk purchasing scheme. Each individual purchase is considered by the Committee and the best quality goods, compatible with price, have been obtained. The wisdom of this has been reflected in the low maintenance cost on the housing estates. Each house is debited with an annual charge of £5 to cover repairs. Despite a high standard being maintained, this has been found adequate and, in fact, a large reserve fund has been built up. All necessary plant and equipment has been purchased and charged to the scheme in progress at the time. At the conclusion of the scheme the plant is depreciated in accordance with the normal tables and the depreciated value is credited back to the scheme. It is then charged out again at this new figure to the scheme to which it is transferred.

The organisation of the department has been so highly developed that during the years 1935/7, when building costs were low, they were able to build 500 houses without subsidy from either the rates or Exchequer. Those houses are let at an economic rental which covers loan charges, rates, repairs and management charges.

Within a few days of the formation of the present Labour Government, the Council asked for permission to re-commence their scheme at Enfield which was suspended in 1939. This had previously been refused. Consent was forthcoming and work was put in hand immediately. At the time of going to print, the first block of houses has been completed and are occupied. Despite

the difficulty of the times, the interim costings show that a saving on estimate is to be anticipated. The scheme involves the erection of 64 houses and the Department's estimate was £55,700. The degree of completion reached on each block has been calculated and these figures consolidated, giving an overall degree of completion of 39 per cent. The actual expenditure to date has been £21,200 as against £21,723, this latter figure being 39 per cent. of the total estimated cost. It will be seen that, so far, there has been a saving of £523. The passing of each week sees a smoother flow of both labour and material and there is no reason why the amount saved should not be greater in proportion as the scheme proceeds.

## GENERAL PRINCIPLES

It is essential for a local authority contemplating building by direct labour to realise from the start that it must be set up as a separate organisation, and not grafted on to another Department.

The question as to whether the small authority can operate such a Department with success gives rise to considerable discussion. We would say that size is not a determining factor, but rather the overall dimensions of the proposed building programme. The number of houses to be built is not so important as the rate of building. If a long-term plan can be prepared and a regular flow of work maintained which ensures the dove-tailing of one scheme in with another, then a direct labour scheme can operate. In actual practice it has been found that the best results in this direction can be obtained by arranging for one scheme to be started up and well under way before the preceding scheme closes down. This, of course, calls, in the first instance, for far-sighted planning, particularly in the acquisition of suitable sites.

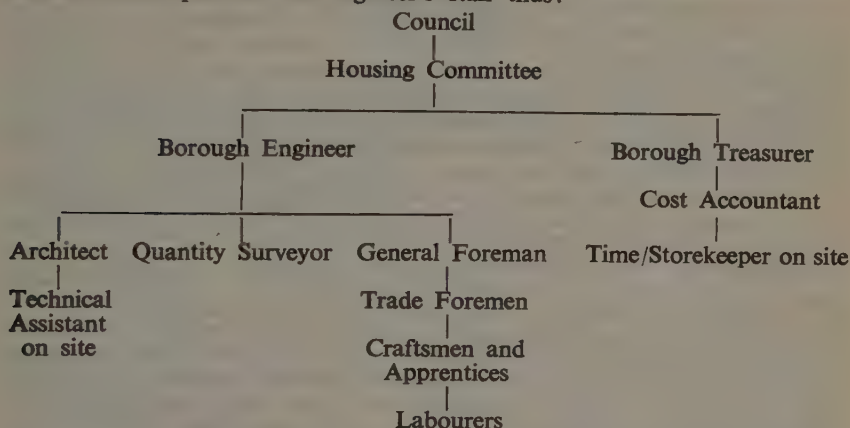
Throughout the whole of the project the Council must realise that they are, in fact, starting up in business on their own account in a competitive market. Every aspect and problem must be approached with this in mind. The actual operation of the venture will be delegated to the Housing Committee and it is the constitution of this Committee which can contribute, to a large degree, to the success or failure of the scheme. It is desirable for the Committee to include members of the building or allied trades. This is not always possible, but, as an alternative, it is necessary that some members of the Committee be prepared to study their subject and acquire at least a working knowledge. Without this, the difficulties encountered would be similar to those which one would expect to meet in the commercial world if operating in a trade without experience. The ultimate difference would be that the electorate would take the place of the Official Receiver. Some knowledge of the goods being handled is absolutely essential if the Committee proposes to make bulk purchases. Relying upon officials cannot be regarded as being a satisfactory substitute.

## SUGGESTED STAFF AND LAY-OUT

Staffing the Department is important. It is necessary to recruit officers who believe in the idea and principles. They will be working, for the most part, against competitive estimates and must have confidence in themselves. Once appointed they must be free from interference and be vested with the equivalent authority of their counterparts in an industrial organisation. The actual setup of the Department can be determined according to local conditions. It is obvious that in a small authority there will have to be some duplication of offices. Generally speaking, however, we would suggest that the scheme be brought under the control of the Borough Engineer and Surveyor. This will immediately give rise to a chorus of protests from those whose criticism of Council houses is that they are, and indeed bear every appearance of being,



designed by the Borough Surveyor rather than the Architect. The latter should be allowed to exercise his creative ingenuity and ability in the design and planning, but the actual carrying through of the undertaking is best handled by the Borough Engineer. Exactly where the Architect comes into the picture it is difficult to decide. The design of the Department at Edmonton shows him as part of the Engineer's staff thus:—



This cannot be regarded as being eminently satisfactory and the appointment of the architect as a separate officer rather than as a member of the Engineer's staff is desired. Most authorities are faced with a considerable re-planning programme, and generally such an appointment can be justified without any fear of overloading. Little more need be said about staffing. The above chart is largely self-explanatory. We would emphasize, however, the important part played by the General Foreman on the site. The success or failure of the scheme can rest upon this appointment. Every care should be exercised in making this, and once appointed he must be free from interference. The entire responsibility of engaging and dismissing labour must be vested in him and individual Councillors must not be allowed to exert pressure to secure the engagement or retention of individual employees.

## COSTING AND CONTROL

The ultimate success of any direct labour department will be judged on its ability to build good houses at a cheap price. If the setup of the Department is right, the foregoing advice as to appointments followed, and the right materials purchased, the resulting houses will be soundly constructed. There is no reason as to why they should not also be cheap, but this does not follow automatically. Even assuming that they are cheap, that is, comparable with houses of similar type and construction built by contract, the criterion will still be whether or not there is a saving on estimate or tender. To ensure this, a rigid system of control is essential. Each block of houses should be separately costed and at each meeting of the Committee a clear statement should be presented showing the following details in respect of each block:—

- (a) Date of commencement.
- (b) Stage of construction reached.
- (c) What percentage this represents.
- (d) Cash allocated to the block.
- (e) Cash spent to date and percentage of allocation.
- (f) Estimated completion date.

The Committee will then be able to keep themselves informed as to the week-by-week progress and whether or not the estimate is likely to be exceeded.

### SOME CRITICISMS ANSWERED

It has been said that direct labour building can only succeed in a falling market. What is really meant is that a badly run Department gets out more easily under these conditions. Direct labour can succeed under any conditions. The essential difference is that a falling market means a greater saving for the ratepayer rather than an enhanced profit for the builder. On a rising market the costs go up and the estimate may be exceeded. This will happen in any case, as the usual form of building contract allows for rises in prices of labour and material to be treated as extras in addition to the contracted price.

Another criticism is that the scheme succeeds only because the salaries of the executive officials are charged to the rates and not to the scheme. It is true that the Department does not bear the cost of its executive officials but that is not a legitimate criticism. The comparison is between what the cost is to the ratepayers of houses built by direct labour as against the same houses built under contract. The deciding factor on this point is whether or not those officials would have been necessary under a contract scheme. The Architect and Surveyor would still have been required to design and prepare the scheme. The Quantity Surveyor and Technical Assistants would have been necessary to prepare the specifications, check estimates and later to be on the site to enforce adherence to the specification. Thus, we contend, the charging of these salaries to the rates is justified.

Direct labour just means "going into business as builders". If the idea is approached from this angle and developed along cooperative lines, not only can it succeed but it must succeed.

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# MINERS' WELFARE

## A Plan for Welfare in a Nationalised Coal Mining Industry

### by Coalface

In presenting the Coal Industry Nationalisation Bill in Parliament for its second reading the Minister of Fuel and Power said that 'One of the principal reasons for nationalising this industry is the prospect that State ownership provides for improving the conditions under which the mineworkers have laboured and for raising their general status'. This provides a measure of the high standard of welfare provision contemplated; the purpose of this article is to suggest a plan for its accomplishment.

### THE MINERS' WELFARE FUND

Prior to the establishment of the Ministry of Fuel and Power in 1942 the Miners' Welfare Fund which originated with the report of the Sankey Commission in 1919 and was given legislative effect in the Mining Industry Act 1920 was the chief medium for the provision of welfare facilities for mineworkers and their dependents. This fund was provided by means of an output levy on all coal raised in Great Britain and later a levy on mining royalties. Under existing legislation the output levy amounts to 1d per ton for the 13 years up to and including the output of 1951 and a royalties levy of 1s in the £ on mining royalties without limit as to its period. The fund has been used to provide institutes, halls and recreation grounds in colliery villages, pithead baths, canteens and cycle stores at the collieries, health services such as convalescent homes and rehabilitation centres and education and safety research. The duty of allocating the fund is vested in the Miners' Welfare Commission, a statutory body appointed by the Minister of Fuel and Power, which maintains centrally an administrative and technical staff and a staff of welfare officers in the coal mining districts.

### FUNCTIONS OF THE MINISTRY AND COMMISSION IN RELATION TO WELFARE

On its establishment in 1942 the Ministry of Fuel and Power was charged with a responsibility for the welfare, safety, health and working conditions of coal miners and at the same time the Miners' Welfare Fund continued to be applied "for such purposes connected with the social wellbeing, recreation and conditions of living of workers in or about coal mines and with mining education and research as the Board of Trade after consultation with any Government Department concerned may approve." The Coal Industry Nationalisation Bill appears to envisage a continuation of this arrangement for section 1 (4) states:—

"The policy of the (National Coal) Board shall be directed to securing consistently with the proper discharge of their duties under subsection (1) of this section—

(a) the advancement of the safety of persons in their employment and the promotion of their health and welfare."

and section 38 (5) states:—

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"The (Miners' Welfare) Commission shall have power to act as agent of the (National Coal) Board with respect to any matter relating

to the health or welfare of persons in the employment of the Board notwithstanding any limitation or restriction imposed by the Mining Industry Acts, 1920 to 1943."

The National Coal Board which is to be established to work and develop the coal mining industry is to be responsible for the welfare of its employees or in the words of Mr Shinwell "a statutory obligation is imposed on the Board to secure the advancement of the safety of persons in their employment and the promotion of their health and welfare. The Board must conform to the standard of a model employer and interpret this obligation in a fashion that will speedily remove the strained atmosphere that has surrounded the industry". For this purpose the Board may take direct executive action itself or it may empower the Miners' Welfare Commission to act as its agent, or, as appears to be the intention, at least to begin with, it may make use of both methods.

It is proposed first to examine these alternative methods and secondly to suggest a plan for promoting a high standard of welfare provision in the nationalised coal mining industry.

### BASIC ASSUMPTIONS

Let it be said at once that it has been accepted as axiomatic:—

- (i) That it is a duty of the employer to provide steadily improving welfare arrangements for the mineworkers and their dependents.
- (ii) That the primary object of restoring cheap and abundant coal supplies in Great Britain must not be achieved at the expense of the health, safety and welfare of the mineworkers and their dependents.
- (iii) That the question of recruitment to the industry is closely bound up with the provision of a high and steadily improving standard of welfare for the mineworkers and their dependents.

### FACTORS FOR CONSIDERATION IN DETERMINING THE METHOD OF FUTURE WELFARE PROVISION

In order to determine which method is most likely to promote a high standard of welfare for the miners and their families some of the principal considerations have been summarised as follows:

1. If, as is assumed above, the employer has a duty to provide steadily improving welfare arrangements for the mineworkers and their dependents, miners' welfare must be a direct responsibility of the National Coal Board.
2. If, as is assumed above, there is a close connection between recruitment and a high and improving standard of welfare, miners' welfare should be a direct responsibility of the National Coal Board.
3. If miners' welfare is to be kept outside the everyday politics of the industry it should be the responsibility of an independent organisation. (It would seem that this had more substance while the industry was privately owned.)
4. The Miners' Welfare Fund as constituted by Act of Parliament provides an assured amount available annually for welfare. This enables planning to proceed with an assurance that would be impossible if the amount available was less certain. (Equal assurance as to the continuance of the fund and the amount can be given whether welfare is the responsibility of an independent organisation or the National Coal Board.)



5. Where miners' welfare is the responsibility of an independent organisation welfare is always the first consideration and the advantage of a specialised organisation is obtained. (It is doubtful if this advantage is appreciably greater when the responsibility is placed on an independent organisation than when it is made the responsibility of a specialised welfare department within the National Coal Board.)
6. If the National Coal Board accepts direct executive responsibility for miners' welfare it takes its place within the administrative machinery of the Board and easy cooperation can take place between the Welfare, Labour, Safety, Health and Research departments, etc.
7. If miners' welfare is a direct executive responsibility of the National Coal Board it could be kept fully under review (in the same way as other aspects of the Board's work) by any consultative machinery (formal or informal) established by the Board and the National Union of Mineworkers.
8. If the Mines Inspectorate continues as a branch of the Ministry of Fuel and Power the welfare provision at collieries might well be the subject of inspection by H M Inspectors of Mines. If direct executive responsibility for welfare rests with the Board, H M Inspectors would look to the Board's officers in respect to welfare in the same way as they do for adequate safety measures.
9. If the Miners' Welfare Commission continues to provide welfare facilities by means of the Miners' Welfare Fund this would have the advantage of making use of the existing social institution and would not necessitate any immediate change.

With the exception of 3, which is not of much importance once the industry is publicly owned, all these points assert that the responsibility for the promotion of a high standard of miners' welfare must rest with the National Coal Board. Statutory provision is made for this in section 1 (4) of the Coal Industry Nationalisation Bill. While not precluding the use of other organisations, points 1, 2, 6, 7 and 8 favour direct executive action by the Board itself, points 3 and 9 favour the use of the Miners' Welfare Commission as the Board's agent and points 4 and 5 would not seem to favour either method.

The chief reason for providing for the continued use of the Miners' Welfare Commission in promoting miners' welfare in a nationalised industry would seem to be the existence of the Commission itself. The Commission, that for 25 years has pioneered as the first state welfare organisation established to serve the workers in a great basic industry, is in danger of becoming a vested interest that may hinder the adoption by the National Coal Board of a considered plan for miners' welfare closely coordinated with all aspects of the Board's work.

An examination of the alternative methods of promoting a high standard of welfare available to the National Coal Board if the Coal Industry Nationalisation Bill becomes law in its present form has led to the conclusion that as well as being responsible for the welfare of its employees the Board should make direct provision for their welfare. The Board should not normally delegate this function to another body as it appears that it may do within the terms of the present Bill.

## THE NATIONAL COAL BOARD

The National Coal Board is to consist of a chairman and eight other members appointed by the Minister of Fuel and Power to govern the industry and charged with the duty of working and getting coal in Great Britain. As already indicated statutory obligations are to be imposed on the Board to secure the advancement of persons in their employment and the promotion

of their health and welfare. The Bill does not seek to create a rigid organisation but leaves the details of the form of public enterprise to be determined by the Board in consultation with the Minister. Mr Shinwell has, however, envisaged a form of regional organisation somewhat on the lines of the National Coal Board itself. Neither does the Bill provide for the establishment of formal consultative machinery representative of the National Coal Board and the National Union of Mineworkers but it is certain that close consultation will take place nationally and regionally and Mr Shinwell has already said that "The Board must provide for the continuance and stability of pit production committees and for consultation on all those matters which concern the personnel of the industry"

## OUTLINE OF THE PLAN FOR WELFARE

On the assumption that the National Coal Board will establish Regional Coal Boards and that machinery for consultation with the workers in the industry will be established nationally, regionally and at the pits it is considered that miners' welfare should take its place as an integral part of the machinery of the National Coal Board as follows:—

- (i) The National Coal Board would have a Welfare Department in charge of a National Welfare Officer in the same way as it must have a Production and Development Department, a Finance Department, a Mining Supplies Department, etc., etc. The Welfare Department would be divided into three sections dealing with (i) Pit or Works Welfare, (ii) Community or Social Welfare, and (iii) a Technical section consisting of architects, quantity surveyors, etc., to deal with the planning and erection of pithead baths and other welfare buildings.
- (ii) Each Regional Coal Board would similarly have a Welfare Department in charge of a Regional Welfare Officer with adequate staff to deal with Pit Welfare, Community Welfare and Welfare Building work.
- (iii) Pit Welfare, including pithead baths, canteens and other forms of industrial welfare would be the responsibility of a Colliery Welfare Officer at each pit or small group of pits. It may or may not prove necessary to have a link between the Regional Welfare Department and the Colliery Welfare Officers at the pits, but if this is found to be necessary, it should take the form of Group Welfare Officers appointed to each production group of collieries.
- (iv) For the purpose of Community Welfare the regions would be divided into areas each with an Area Welfare Officer. The areas would be as nearly as possible co-terminous with the group production areas into which each region will have to be divided but other factors, including Local Authority boundaries, will need to be considered in determining the areas.
- (v) The national and regional technical staff would have to undertake the building programme required in connection with the provision of welfare facilities (including pithead baths at about 600 collieries), and advising on the maintenance of buildings and plant.

The above outline represents only the broadest sketch of the plan for miners' welfare in a nationalised mining industry (see diagram). Some of the more important points are discussed below.

## FINANCE

The existence of the Miners' Welfare Fund has enabled the Miners' Welfare Commission to plan the provision of welfare facilities in advance with





all the assurance resulting from a fund provided by statute. The Welfare Department of the National Coal Board will likewise need to plan welfare development well in advance and for this an assurance is required that the necessary finance will be forthcoming. This is equally true of other departments of the National Coal Board but the forces which lead to economies being regularly made at the expense of the welfare provision in capitalist industry may not be entirely absent in a publicly owned industry so that safeguards need to be provided. This can be achieved by arranging for the continuance of the Miners' Welfare Fund on its present basis so that the Welfare Department of the National Coal Board is assured of a *minimum* revenue equivalent to the amount forthcoming from an output levy of 1d per ton and a royalties levy of 1s in the £.

It is further suggested that this fund should be used for promoting a high standard of welfare for the miners and their wives and families and not for pit or works welfare which should be a direct working charge on the industry rather than be provided from a special statutory fund. The Minister of Fuel and Power when moving the second reading of the Bill said "The provision of baths at pits is so obviously a necessity, that it barely deserves the description of 'welfare activity'. Moreover, the Board are not restricted in their interpretation of welfare, but will be free to deal with every aspect of welfare, not only of miners, but also of their wives and families".

### APPORTIONMENT OF THE MINIMUM

It would seem that the Miners' Welfare Fund has been divided among the coal districts according to the amount of output levy received from each district. The amount available for welfare purposes in each coal district has been related directly to the output of the district.

In a publicly owned industry the amount available for welfare and therefore the standard and variety of welfare provision in any region should not depend entirely on the output of the region. If, as is suggested above, the Miners' Welfare Fund is continued on its present basis in order to provide an assured *minimum* for welfare purposes it should be divided among the regions in accordance with the number of persons employed rather than according to output of coal. It is inconceivable in a publicly owned industry that the minimum amount available should be less in one region where the number of persons employed was high and the production of coal low, due to thin seams and difficult conditions, than in another region where, due to good working conditions, there was a large output with fewer men employed.

### PIT WELFARE

The welfare of the miner at the colliery is a matter of primary importance and the provision of adequate welfare facilities must affect his social status and the attitude of youths towards entering the industry.

Generally accepted forms of provision at the pit include pithead baths (for which there is an urgent demand), canteens, cycle stores and first aid rooms. Arrangements for the regular washing and repairing of pitwear with the closely allied subject of standardised working clothes requires investigation and consideration. Close cooperation should be established between the Welfare, Health, Safety etc. departments of the National Coal Board in dealing with such subjects as the provision of protective clothing, recruitment and training of youths, accident prevention, industrial fatigue, hygiene, industrial disease, the provision of clinics and various forms of preventive treatment at the pit with the object of maintaining the miner in a fit condition and to counteract any adverse effects resulting from his working conditions.



The most urgent form of welfare provision at the colliery necessitating an extensive building programme is the erection of pithead baths and associated welfare facilities at the 600 odd collieries employing more than 50 men each still unequipped. To undertake a building programme of this magnitude as speedily as possible the central Welfare Department of the National Coal Board will need to formulate a national plan with a national budget.

The cost of maintaining the welfare facility once it has been provided at the colliery will normally be a charge on the working of the colliery instead of being borne partly by the colliery company and partly by contributions paid by the workmen as is the case with pithead baths at the present time. It is considered that the maintenance of pithead baths, cycle stores, clinics and first aid rooms, etc., should be a charge on the colliery while canteens, being trading concerns, should normally adjust their costs and selling prices to cover maintenance.

Where pithead baths, together with the canteens and cycle stores associated with them, have been provided by means of the Miners' Welfare Fund they are usually held by trustees and managed by local committees in accordance with the provisions of Trust Deeds approved by the Commission. These Trust Deeds usually provide for half the trustees and half the management committee to come from the owners' and the workmen's sides of the colliery respectively. At many collieries without pithead baths where canteens have been provided from the Miners' Welfare Fund during the war the canteen is controlled by a formal agreement between the colliery company and the Miners' Welfare Commission which provides for the establishment of a canteen management committee equally representative of the workmen and the owners of the colliery.

Provided the legal difficulties can be overcome all Pithead Baths Trusts should be dissolved and canteen management committees should resign on the termination of the formal agreements between the colliery companies and the Miners' Welfare Commission. Wherever possible existing pithead baths, canteens and associated welfare facilities as well as all future provision, should become essential parts of the colliery undertaking and should be placed in charge of the Colliery Welfare Officer who would be a specially appointed official responsible for their efficient management, maintenance and day to day working. He would also be responsible for safety measures, accident prevention, provision of protective clothing, hygiene and other forms of industrial welfare.

The Pit Production Committee or, if preferred, a specially constituted joint consultative committee would provide the appropriate machinery for those engaged at the colliery, both mineworkers and technicians, to raise any matter affecting the welfare provision.

If, as is assumed, the Mines Inspectorate continues as a branch of the Ministry of Fuel and Power, all forms of welfare provision at the colliery should be subject to inspection by H M Inspectors of Mines.

## COMMUNITY WELFARE

Community welfare, unlike Pit Welfare, would not be the exclusive province of the National Coal Board subject to the over-riding responsibility of the Minister of Fuel and Power. Other government departments such as the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Health have national responsibilities in this field as have also Local Education and Local Housing Authorities. The fullest cooperation between the Ministry of Fuel and Power and the National Coal Board and the Ministries of Health and Education is therefore essential if a high and steadily improving standard of social welfare is to be secured for the mining community.

There are few mining communities without a Recreation Centre of some kind provided by means of the Miners' Welfare Fund. The scale and standard of accommodation at many institutes and recreation grounds, however, is inadequate from the modern conception of a community centre, and the variety and standard of the activities organised within these centres is often insufficiently attractive. On the other hand these Centres have often become the focus of the social life of their town or village and tend to become centres for the whole community rather than centres for miners. This welcome development tends to break down the segregation of the mining population and provides for the social and recreational life of the community in the widest possible sense.

Something approaching a cultural breakdown has occurred in our towns and villages due partly to the decay of religious sanctions aggravated by the increase of leisure. Signs of it can be seen in the addiction to commercial amusements, football pools and dog racing, to the passive pursuit of films, the wireless and popular newspapers and most recently of all, astrology. Another aspect of the same thing is the acceptance as normal by a great part of society of the hideous squalour and epic dullness of our industrial towns and villages with no corporate traditions of social or cultural activity.

It should be the aim of the Welfare department of the National Coal Board to tackle this problem vigorously using in the first instance the existing welfare provision made by means of the Miners' Welfare Fund and initiating new and better forms of provision in cooperation with the Ministries of Health and Education and the Local Authorities.

The final object of all community planning should be to provide for the social, recreational and cultural life of the community in the widest possible sense and this cannot be achieved without first of all providing adequate houses. Consideration should therefore be given to charging the National Coal Board with the liquidation of all unsatisfactory colliery-owned houses and their replacement by modern dwellings built by the Local Authorities with, if necessary, assistance from the Board.

Existing Miners' Welfare Centres are usually held by trustees and managed by local committees in accordance with Trust Deeds approved by the Miners' Welfare Commission. These Trust Deeds usually provide for half the trustees and half the management committee to come from the owners and workmen's sides of the industry respectively. In some cases there is provision for election to the management committees of members of the Centre not connected with the mining industry. With the disappearance of the "owner" side of the industry the Trust Deeds might be altered so as to give adequate representation on the board of trustees to the technical side of the industry and the local authority and on the management committee to the general body of members. The management of the Centres would then accord more with the aim of making them true community centres rather than centres for the segregated use of miners only.

The conclusion reached in the Ministry of Education's recent report "Community Centres" with regard to their maintenance is "that while the local education authority might well meet the cost of the warden's salary and of the structural maintenance of the fabric, it should be laid down as a principle that members of the centre should make the maximum contribution *compatible with the general standard of their incomes* towards meeting the cost of maintaining it". The view is also expressed that every community centre "which serves the needs of not less than 2,000 families will require a fulltime paid warden". Miners have contributed generously towards the maintenance of the Miners' Welfare Centres and the major portion of their income is usually derived from a levy deducted by consent of the workmen from their weekly wages at the colliery office, supplemented by receipts from games, lettings, entertainments



and the sale of refreshments and tobacco if there is a cafe or shop. More than anything else Miners' Welfare Centres have lacked the necessary finance to provide skilled paid leadership. It must be a primary duty of the Welfare Department to secure adequate paid leadership for existing Centres (as well as for new Centres provided in the future) by stimulating local education authorities through the medium of grant aid and by other means to provide wardens and an adequate supply of specialist leaders to develop activities, *e.g.*, recreative physical training, music, crafts, drama, discussion groups, homecraft, allotments, etc., etc.

Specific measures will need to be taken to stimulate activities for women at all Centres and also to provide adequately for young people's groups and for boys and girls and mixed clubs. The extension of holidays with pay will call for special provision in the form of holiday camps, hostels, camping sites and the organisation of tours at home and abroad. The broad canvas of comprehensive provision should include facilities for all sections of the mining community.

In the first instance each Region should be divided into areas co-terminous if possible with the group production areas but taking into account also such factors as local authority boundaries, etc., each with an Area Welfare Officer. The duty of these field officers would be to initiate and develop the provision of social, recreational and cultural facilities within their areas and increase the variety and number of activities for all sections of the community at both indoor and outdoor schemes.

The Committees of the local Miners' Welfare Centres should take an essential part in the planning and development of local facilities and activities while Area and Regional Welfare Committees would be established to secure coordination and cooperation.

## NATIONAL AND REGIONAL WELFARE PROVISION

Certain forms of welfare provision will need to be made on a national or regional basis, *e.g.*, convalescent homes and funds, special medical treatment for pneumoconiosis, nystagmus, rheumatism, etc., rehabilitation centres and resettlement schemes, education schemes, etc.

The National and Regional Welfare Departments will need to provide facilities in close cooperation with the Safety, Health and Research Departments. Where provision has already been made from the Miners' Welfare Fund (*e.g.*, convalescent homes and rehabilitation centres) the Trust Deeds provide for a Management Committee made up of an equal number of representatives of the owners and workmen in the industry. The Trust Deeds may need to be altered to take account of the transference of the industry to public ownership but it is probable that facilities of this nature on a national or regional basis should continue to be managed by specially appointed management committees.

## TECHNICAL STAFF

The question of whether the technical staff of architects, quantity surveyors, etc., should form a part of the Welfare Department or become a separate Building Department of the National Coal Board requires careful consideration. If a separate Building Department was established this would provide for a technical staff available for all building work required by the Board whether for welfare projects or not. This method has, however, been rejected, at least in the first instance, for the following reasons:

- (i) If a comprehensive programme of welfare building (particularly pit-head baths that are urgently needed) is to proceed expeditiously it is essential to have a technical department concentrating on this work.

- (ii) For this purpose the technical staff must be under the direct control of the National Welfare Officer and form an integral part of the Welfare Department.
- (iii) A high degree of valuable specialist knowledge and experience is developed as a bye-product of a technical group concentrating on a single problem.
- (iv) The technical staff would be available to advise on the surface layout at collieries so as to improve the amenity and working environment.

When the main pithead baths building programme is completed consideration could again be given to the question of a Building Department in the light of the experience gained. It would probably always be necessary however to have a nucleus of technical staff at the disposal of the Welfare Department for maintenance work and advisory purposes.

## CONCLUSION

The passing of the coal mining industry on to a basis of public ownership must inevitably affect a social institution such as the Miners' Welfare Commission, established when the industry was privately owned and when it was essential to remove welfare from the field of controversy by securing a fund for welfare and a quasi-independent body to administer it. This can be seen in its most obvious form in the disappearance of the "owner" side of the industry and the consequential effect on the Miners' Welfare Commission itself as well as most of the committees and trust deeds established in connection with the Fund. It would seem preferable in every way that a plan for welfare should be envisaged from the start so that the existing machinery of the Miners' Welfare Commission may be incorporated as part of the Welfare Department of the National Coal Board without the friction that may well occur if the Board gradually assumes more and more of the Commission's functions without attempting to define its objective or outline a plan for welfare.

Much more important than the changes inevitable in the machinery of welfare as it has been known in the past, is the fundamental change of attitude towards welfare which should result from the passing of the industry from private to public ownership. Under private ownership each new advance in the position of the miner has been granted as a concession and never as a right, as the result of pressure rather than as a spontaneous offer. Under public ownership welfare will no longer be the subject of imposing legislation on a variety of private owners but it will be one of the primary duties of the National Coal Board and its Regional management. The easiest way of dealing with the inevitable changes in the machinery of welfare consequent upon the disappearance of the "owner" side of the industry might be to substitute representatives of the directing personnel for the representatives of the owners and retain the machinery of the Miners' Welfare Commission. But this would not provide adequately for the fundamental change in attitude towards welfare essential in a publicly owned industry. This can only be accomplished by making welfare a primary executive function of the National Coal Board.



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Memorandum on Ministry of Education Estimates. 1946 . . . . .	April 46	6781	3d
Exhibitions and Fairs. Report of part they should play in promotion of Export Trade . . . . .	April 46	6782	3d
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Agreement relating to Air Transport between British and French Territories. 28.2.46 . .	April 46	6787	4d
Treaty Regarding Privileges and Facilities for British Forces in Belgium in connection with the Occupation of Germany and Austria. 11.3.46 . . . . .	April 46	6790	2d
Final Act and Convention of the International Overfishing Conference. 25.3.46 to 5.4.46 . .	April 46	6791	2d
The Re-Adjustment in Civil Life of Soldiers Discharged from the Army on account of Neurosis . .	April 46	—	1/3

# IN AND AROUND NUMBER ELEVEN

## THE LABOUR MOVEMENT AND THE FUTURE

A very successful Conference on this subject was held at the Imperial Hotel in April. Speakers included H. D. Hughes, M P, Harold Wilson, M P, Christopher Mayhew, M P, Patrick Gordon Walker, M P, George Woodcock of the T U C Research Department, John Parker, M P, and Morgan Phillips, Secretary of the Labour Party.

A fortnight's school will be held at Matlock this Spring and two summer schools are being organised at Dartington Hall and Frensham Heights.

## LOCAL SOCIETIES AND SOCIALIST PROPAGANDA COMMITTEE

The return of a majority Labour Government and the winning of power in a large number of local authorities by the Movement has created a profound change in the political setting in which the work of the Labour Movement and Local Societies has to be conducted. It will be remembered that in the special conditions which operated during the war, a most effective conference was held at Jordans to devise methods of bringing Local Societies in close and continuous touch with the Divisional Parties. The Committee has felt that it is essential that in the changed political situation now existing, the work of Local Societies must be reviewed and new methods of work discussed. In addition, it is believed that many Societies could organise their activities with greater effect than at present. In these circumstances, a series of conferences to discuss these matters have been arranged. Allan Flanders has prepared a useful document for discussion at these gatherings. He outlines the following tasks for Socialists:

- (a) To defend the Labour Government and the legislation which it introduces against misrepresentation and unreasonable attacks whilst at the same time assisting with constructive criticism.
- (b) To secure the best possible interpretation and most energetic fulfilment in Local Government of general legislative provisions, particularly in such matters as Health, Housing, Education and Industrial Location and Development.
- (c) To raise the level of political understanding and socialist consciousness of the individual and affiliated membership of the Labour Party; and
- (d) To prepare the ground for socialist development of the Labour Party policy beyond the terms of the immediate programme on which the last election was fought and which is likely largely to be completed in the life of the present Parliament.

and suggests that Local Societies should pay particular attention to the following six activities:—

- (a) Providing a local forum of a more independent character than can be provided within the Labour Party itself, for the socialist discussion.
- (b) Studying all important legislation introduced by the Labour Government and discussing the problems relating to it, so that the number of people who can give a reasoned reply to uninformed criticism is increased.

(c) Assist the educational activities of the Labour Party in an organized fashion by training discussion group leaders or providing speakers to open discussions on special subjects.

(d) Developing their own educational work particularly by means of delegates conferences to supplement that undertaken by the Labour Party.

(e) Undertaking local surveys and investigations to make useful proposals to the local authorities to improve the services and amenities which they provide.

(f) Training and selecting suitable candidates, particularly amongst young people, for local Government elections.

The first conference was held at Surrey Crest, near Caterham, on March 22-23, and was attended by representatives from 25 Societies. The director was Arthur Skeffington, M.P. There were four sessions as follows:—

#### *Speakers and Subjects.*

- (1) *The Political Situation.* "The Progress and Problems of the Labour Government." George Thomas, M.P.
- (2) Discussion on "The Work of Local Fabian Societies" introduced by Allan Flanders.
- (3) How to make the work of Local Societies more efficient. Discussion opened by Miss Edith Moore and Robert Plant.
- (4) *Modern Propaganda.* Leslie Button (Education Secretary of the Chatham Cooperative Society, deputising at short notice for Jack Gray).

Further conferences on this important subject have been arranged at Dollarbeg, Dollar (May 4-6), Tong Hall, near Bardford (May 11-12) and Avoncroft Hostel, Bromsgrove (May 18-19). A day conference will also be held in Lancashire.

**LOCAL SOCIETY RESEARCH.** We are glad to report that more Societies are considering local research programmes for the coming year. Margaret Cole has very kindly consented to advise on research projects by Local Societies.

**MEMBERSHIP AND ACTIVITIES.** The aggregate membership of the active Societies cannot be less than 3,700, (2,200 last year). Affiliation fees so far received for the current year cover 2,998 from 81 Societies (1,728 members from 63 Societies last year). This represents an increase in local membership of 1,270. In addition there are about 400 associate members and 300 national members who are also members of Local Societies. An interesting development is the number of organisations now affiliating direct to local Societies. About 50 bodies are so associated. Sheffield records the highest figure—20.

It is impossible to enumerate all the recent activities of Local Societies. Some idea of the general scope of the work can be judged from the fact that about 130 meetings a month are arranged under the auspices of Local Societies. Excellent publicity is obtained in local papers by Local Societies and press cuttings received amount to one hundred a month.

Readers of the *Quarterly* who are living in areas where there is not at present a Local Society are invited to write to the Secretary of the Local Societies Committee for information about the best methods of forming a Local Society. There is room for the expansion of the activities of the Fabian Society throughout the country.



## HOME RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

**THE B B C.** A sub-committee of the Political and Local Government Research Committee was formed, with Francis Noel-Baker, M P, as Chairman, in order to work out a constructive policy for the B B C by the time the Charter comes up for renewal. A Parliamentary Group on Overseas Publicity was appointed at about the same time and as the personnel overlapped to a great extent the Parliamentary Labour Party agreed to take recommendations from our sub-committee as far as the B B C was concerned. The sub-committee was asked to send in its proposals by the end of March, which left no time for carrying out the comprehensive research which was at first envisaged by the sub-committee. However, a memorandum was submitted to the Lord President of the Council.

**FILMS.** Work has now been started on the statistical analysis of exhibitors' returns to the Board of Trade. The gathering of material will take some time but it is hoped to obtain some interesting results and the Films Group hope to be able to make use of this in formulating recommendations for the future of the industry.

**HOUSING.** The Housing Committee, which was formed last October, has produced three *Quarterly* articles and held one successful conference. The next project is a handbook which will cover many different aspects of housing and may act as a guide to Labour Councillors on housing committees.

**REGIONALISM.** A meeting was held at P E P to discuss the possible development in regional organisation. About twenty people attended, most of whom had some direct interest in the subject. There was an animated discussion and it is hoped that this meeting will lead to the formation of a group to go more deeply into the complex problems likely to arise as regional organisation develops.

**PUBLICATIONS.** Two recent pamphlets have been based on evidence submitted by the Fabian Society—one by a Group of Fabians to the Board of Trade Committee on the Census of Distribution—*Distribution: The Case for a National Census*. The other, written by Margaret Cole, is mentioned in the Women's Group section of this report.

## THE COLONIAL BUREAU

**WEEKEND CONFERENCE.** A Conference on "The Relationship between Britain and the Colonial Peoples" was held at Clacton from April 12-14. Over a hundred people—at least half of whom were colonials—attended. The Conference was directed by Professor T. S. Simey, and other speakers were L. Braithwaite (from Trinidad), K. Nkrumah (Gold Coast), Dr. Arthur Lewis, Dr. Kenneth Little, Frank Hoabin and Rita Hinden. The Conference was an outstanding success from the point of view of the frank discussion from all sides. The discussion concentrated on the reasons for distrust on the part of the colonial peoples, and the difficulties ahead in the transition to self-government. A report of the Conference is being prepared and it is hoped that this candid interchange of opinion will be followed up by further meetings.

**COOPERATION.** The book *Cooperation in the Colonies* was published in February. Its proposals had been put to the Colonial Office earlier. We are gratified to note that some of these proposals are now being acted upon. A despatch has been sent to the governors of all colonies urging the encouragement of the cooperative movement, providing a model cooperative law, and making suggestions for the training of personnel. A Cooperative Advisory

Committee is to be set up in the Colonial Office. The Bureau's report urged also the establishment of a separate Co-operative Department inside the Colonial Office, but this recommendation has not yet been adopted.

**SOUTHERN RHODESIA.** We reported in the previous *Fabian Quarterly* that the Bureau had made representations to the Dominions Office and in Parliament on the new Bill then before the Southern Rhodesian Parliament, re-enacting certain discriminatory measures against the Africans. A ruling was given to an M P that questions on impending legislation in Southern Rhodesia could not be raised in the House, whereupon the Secretary of the Bureau wrote to *The Times* exposing the impossibility of Britain honestly exercising her reserve powers if questions could not be asked in Parliament regarding their threatened infringement. This letter resulted in a new ruling that such questions might be asked in future, and a question which followed elicited the reply that although the Southern Rhodesian Parliament had passed the objectionable Bill, His Majesty's Government had not yet given Assent. A memorandum was then sent to the Dominions Office suggesting that amendments might be inserted in the Bill before Assent was given. The Dominions Office has agreed to discuss this with a deputation from the Bureau. The *Manchester Guardian* has also published a letter from the Bureau on racial discrimination in Southern Rhodesia.

**JAMAICA.** Strikes and riots in Jamaica brought Mr N. N. Nethersole, leader of the Jamaica T U C, to London to explain the difficulties in which the sound trade union movement was finding itself under the Bustamante regime. Members of the Bureau Advisory Committee, together with Mr Nethersole, were received by the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies to discuss the position in Jamaica.

**"EMPIRE".** The journal of the Bureau, *Empire*, has been published regularly every two months since 1941. It has now been decided to convert it into a monthly and produce it in a more attractive form. The new arrangement will commence from June 1946.

**MALAYA MEETING.** An afternoon meeting on the plans for the future of Malaya was held in London on April 30th, under the chairmanship of Frank Horrabin, and addressed by Mr T. Reid, M P. Mr Reid has spent many years in the administrative service in the Far East and was able to give an informative speech from first-hand knowledge of the area.

## INDIAN AFFAIRS GROUP

On April 12 the Indian Affairs Group held its first public meeting, a Brains Trust on India and the Cabinet Mission. The Trust consisted of Mr A. G. Bottomley, M P, recently returned from the Parliamentary Delegation to India, Dr K. S. Shelvankar, author of the Penguin, *The Problem of India*, Miss Margaret Pope, journalist, Col R. A. Armstrong, and Swami Avyaktananda. It was considered a most useful and informative evening.

The Group's first pamphlet, "India's Sterling Balances", by A. C. Gilpin, Assistant Research Secretary, P E P, will be issued very shortly.

## WOMEN'S GROUP

The pamphlet *The Rate for the Job* by Margaret Cole, based on the Group's Evidence to the Royal Commission on Equal Pay, has been published during the quarter. A well-attended Discussion Meeting was held on *Children Deprived of Normal Home Life* with Mrs. Madeline J. Robinson (Madeline Symons) as the speaker.

# BOOK REVIEWS

## Social and Political

**POPULATION AND THE PEOPLE: A NATIONAL POLICY** By a Committee of the Fabian Society under the chairmanship of Dr. W. A. Robson (Fabian Society and Allen & Unwin 2/6)

One of the main functions of the Fabian Society and of Fabians, it would appear on studying its history, is to pioneer a social thought along the right lines in advance of time, to produce a policy which is intrinsically sound but which is not put into effect because it convinces only the Good and not a sufficiency of the Powerful or the mass of public opinion; and later on, when the march of events has rendered a change of policy manifestly necessary, to come back to the charge and either by itself or with others re-present, in up-to-date detail, the advice which was formerly rejected. There have been several examples of this in recent times. Thirty-seven years ago, Beatrice Webb, in the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission, presented to the Asquith Government what was in effect a policy of social Security. It was rejected in favour of the Insurance Acts; nine years later, Beatrice persuaded the Maclean Committee to endorse her policy, but its Report went down the drain in the 1919 orgy; twenty-three years later, a Fabian Committee, under the chairmanship of Dr. Robson, worked out the whole policy in a detailed book which appeared just after the Beveridge Report. Again, in 1918, Beatrice Webb, as a minority of one on the Committee on Men's and Women's Wages, produced a report advocating equality; in 1944 the Fabian Women's Group found itself advocating the same policy before the Royal Commission on Equal Pay—but this time in an atmosphere where the opposition was much more on the defensive.

Now comes the third instance. In 1907 appeared Fabian Tract 131 on *The Decline of the Birthrate*, demanding that "the production of healthy, moral and intelligent citizens should be revered as a social service", and suggesting ways in which this might be achieved. Nothing happened at the time; but the birth-rate went down and two great wars came up. Nearly forty years later, a Fabian Committee, also under Dr. Robson, again appeared to advise and instruct a Royal Commission—on Population—and here, in 75 recommendations plus 52 pages of closely reasoned argument, is the result of its labours.

The Committee covered all aspects of the problem except those—such as involuntary sterility—which involved expert medical or biological knowledge. They deal with the economic and social hindrances to bringing up families, with the housing and educational reforms required, with the question of women's work, with the need for much more accurate information and for a population policy, with the contents of such a policy and with the ways in which it might be administered. Readers of the *Quarterly* will not expect a summary of the argument and proposals in the space of a review; they will realise that they must buy and read the book for themselves—and hope that the members of the Royal Commission will have done so already. This reviewer has only one criticism to make—that the matter of "home help" is rather lightly skated over. The lack of domestic help in the post-war world is already, to my knowledge, seriously affecting the feelings of young married women of the professional classes who would like to have children; and while these are at present a small minority, the rising standard of life to which the authors of the report look forward, will surely mean that their working-class sisters will more and more come to the same point of view. If a certain minimum of home help cannot be professionalised and made easily available, of what use are provisions for part-time working for married women likely to be? This, however, is only one point; all the rest of the document is admirable.

M. I. C.



**BRITISH RESTAURANTS** Inquiry by National Council of Social Service (Oxford University Press 3/6)

This valuable collection of facts and figures, together with the illustrations, tell the story of the British Restaurant, to quote Margaret Bonfield, "from the improvised and rather shabby eating place to the well-planned gay rendezvous for workers wanting company and a tasty snack or a solid meal after a strenuous day's work". The British Restaurant has not only played a vital part during and since the war in maintaining nutritional standards, but the habit of eating out has become in a large section of the population a part of the normal pattern of life. The crucial need, the Report concludes, is for a clear statement of policy setting out the primary purpose of the British Restaurant as a social service, "integrated with and forming an essential part of a national food policy". Whether or not "it pays" is a matter of secondary consideration. Far more important, the Report rightly insists, is the adequacy of the service and its effects on public health and social life.

B. D.

**BRINGING UP CHILDREN** By D. Metcalfe (Pilot Press 5/-)

An admirable introduction to the rearing of children for the lay person and those interested in more than just physical feeding.

R. D.

**EXPERIMENTS WITH A BACKWARD CLASS** By Elizabeth A. Taylor (Methuen 6/-)

This book is in the series "Contributions to Modern Education" edited by Susan Isaacs. It describes a year in the school life of a class of backward boys whose ages ranged from 8 to 12 and who constituted standard IIIB in an ordinary elementary school. Most IIIB's are much the same throughout the country. On the one side stands an overworked teacher who, without specialised training and with inadequate material facilities, is attempting to conform with the formal teaching of the three R's that goes on in the rest of the school. On the other side sits a heterogeneous group of children whose backwardness may spring from half-a-dozen sources—ill-health, negligent parents, poor stock, emotional shocks—and whose imperviousness to school routines may range from good-natured apathy to violence. Normally nothing much is achieved and both parties are usually satisfied if peace is maintained on the basis of a mixture of 'rules' and 'treats'.

Miss Taylor, however, shows how a teacher of intelligence and imagination, and equipped with the physical strength and sympathy to treat each boy as an individual and keep in mind his individual needs, can develop the potentialities inherent in a group of dull children. She utilised the ideas and suggestions of the boys themselves and her description of their development through letter-writing and play-acting constitutes a brilliant and suggestive account of activity methods, properly understood and employed. On the last page the author notes that at the end of the year the boys passed on to the next standard—to the usual regime of collective class-instruction, the dictated syllabus and the formal time table. For teachers, parents, local councillors and civil servants that final half-hint of futility might be the real lesson of this book.

M. A.

**SOCIAL CONCEPTS AND THE CHILD MIND** By Harry Ordan (Oxford University Press 11/6)

The purpose of this highly expert study is to foster in young American citizens an understanding of present-day social and economic problems and to inspire in them zeal to solve these problems in accordance with the American way of life. The purpose is not irrelevant to education for citizenship in this country.

B. D.

**JUVENILE DELINQUENCY** By A. E. Jones (Penguin 1/-)

While a great deal has been done by the State, the writer concludes, to instruct parents in the best ways to secure the physical welfare of their children, too

little attention has been given to the moral side of parental care. This today is no easy task. Instead of the old "affectionate respect", parents too often are held in "affectionate contempt" by a child who has the advantage in education. Nor is the task made easier by the slum conditions of our towns "the breeding grounds of juvenile delinquency". The writer demands that every child shall have a clean, comfortable home, and in towns, youth clubs, play centres and other outlets for high spirits. For the "hard core" of delinquents remaining, there must be an efficient service of approved schools, hostels, "fit persons" and probation officers. Instead of the present division of function between the Home Office and the Ministries of Education, Health and Labour, the writer suggests a Ministry of Youth and a State service of approved schools, etc. There is no hard and fast line between the juvenile delinquent and the normal child who may succumb temporarily to bad influence or shock, to a fit of temper or passion. A better plan seems that of concentrating function on the L.E.A., with regional arrangements for the provision of institutional treatment.

B. D.

**WE WHO TEACH** By Jacques Barzun (Gollancz 10/6)

Material for a pamphlet a quarter of its length. M. Barzun—a Frenchman, it would appear, who has taken to teaching in the U.S.A.—has some shrewd things to say about the technique of teaching, the need for "attention" in the would-be learner, and the necessity of learning to express oneself in English, whatever one's nominal subject of study. But he says them all in the first third of the book; the rest is padding out with wise-cracks, which the blurb calls "a wickedly personal commentary"; it is nothing so positive. The total effect reminds the reviewer of what happens, in another field, when producers like Rene Clair abandon themselves to Hollywood. Pity.

M. I. C.

**J. A. SPENDER** By H. Wilson Harris (Cassell 12/6)

J. A. Spender was editor of the Westminster Gazette, a very influential Liberal evening paper in London for twenty-seven years from 1896 to 1921, and in this capacity knew a good deal about the behind-the-scenes political history of those years; he also wrote political biographies and some history from an orthodox liberal standpoint. When that is said, all is said, and a full-length biography, giving little more political history than has already been published many times over in the biographies of Asquith, Grey, Haldane, etc., etc., seems hardly called for. For those who feel the necessity, however, Mr. Wilson Harris has padded it out adequately.

M. I. C.

**POLITICAL PARTIES AND POLICIES** By E. Royston Pike (Methuen 5/-)

This naive little work—written, it would appear from internal evidence, by a Liberal—is not very honestly presented. It is called Second Edition, up to date, and has pictures of Attlee and Morrison on the jacket. Inside, however, the list of Prime Ministers ends with Churchill, and the rest of the information is parallel. Therefore, though it contains a tolerable description of the Fabian Society, Fabians are advised not to waste their money.

M. I. C.

**THE TRAINING AND EMPLOYMENT OF DISABLED PERSONS** I. L. O.  
(King and Staples 6/-)

War, industrial and street accidents, disease, give all countries their quota of disabled persons. Registration is rarely compulsory and there are no reliable estimates of disabled persons. This admirable survey emphasises the vocational significance of disablement and describes the measures taken in various countries to provide rehabilitation, training, vocational guidance and placement. Many of the accounts appear to embody the intention rather than the practice of governments and there is little data for comparing attainment. Nevertheless the essential issues are raised and discussed.

E. W. C.

## Local Government

### THE CITY OF MANCHESTER PLAN (Jarrold & Sons Ltd. 12/6)

Perhaps the section of most immediate interest to the public in the City of Manchester Plan is that dealing with the completion of the Wythenshawe Estate where development was held up by the war. The new conception of neighbourhood units is now being applied to an area of 300 acres planned for a population of 10,000. Owing to its good fortune in owning land ready for immediate development Manchester may well provide the first neighbourhood unit in the country.

S. D. S.

### THE COUNCILLORS' HANDBOOK By H. Townshend-Rose and Harry R. Page (Pitman 7/6)

This information record of local government should be of particular interest to all those engaged in local administration. The writers point out some interesting reactions of service on the councillor himself, and how the value of importance of the work undertaken recruit the enthusiasm and support even of those persons who take office with the idea of putting a stop to what they no doubt sincerely believe to be wanton extravagance in public expenditure. Councillors are frequently referred to as the custodians of the ratepayers' money. A much more important function is that of guardian of the public welfare. The ratepayer's money may be returned to him in the form of social services which are not merely good bargains but first-class investments.

B. D.

### LABOUR IN LONDON By Brian Barker (Routledge 7/6)

The book gives a vivid and impressive account of Labour's rise to control of the L.C.C., and of Labour's achievements in twelve years of office covering a most critical period in history. Londoners have already expressed their appreciation of a good job well done in recent elections and the return of Labour to power.

B. D.

## International and Colonial

### WHAT THEY SAID AT THE TIME By Kathleen Freeman (Muller 15/-)

This collection of selected extracts from treaties and speeches by politicians of all countries is designed to show the trend to war between 1919 and 1939.

It is a useful record of the foolishness of all National Leaders during that period and includes some wise utterances. It remains to be seen if the present statesmen have more sense.

R. S. W. P.

### HEALTH RECOVERY IN EUROPE By Sir Arthur S. Macnalty, K.C.B., and W. Franklin Mellor (Muller 7/6)

Perhaps the most tragic part of the war, the writers point out, is its aftermath. The first three years after the last war saw more deaths from starvation and disease than from all the war casualties. The book gives us the facts which may help us to learn from past experience. It describes the medical relief work after the 1914-18 war, the growth in various countries of medical and health organisations, the present activities of official and voluntary bodies now engaged on international health work, and indicates hopeful lines of future action. The writers rightly warn us that no health measures, however well-organised, can have more than a transitory value without the re-establishment of economic prosperity. Economic reconstruction must go hand-in-hand with health reconstruction. Each will fail without the other.



**THE NATIONALITIES OF EUROPE: THE GROWTH OF NATIONAL IDEOLOGIES** By H. Munro Chadwick (Cambridge University Press 12/6)

Scholarly chapters on "Nationality and Language", "The Languages of Europe", and "The Linguistic Map of Europe" (in the course of which patriotism and nationalism are thus differentiated—"the former seems to spring from love of home and the desire to preserve and protect it, while the latter is inspired by opposition or aversion to persons and things which are strange or unintelligible"). Two almost-too-scholarly chapters on "Claims to Domination", in which rival claims to various areas are discussed in terms of the kind of megalithic stone battle-axes unearthed in this or that territory. A somewhat sketchy chapter on "Yesterday and Tomorrow".

J. F. H.

**A PAGE OF BRITISH FOLLY** By R. F. Hargood (Macmillan 1/6)

The writer makes a moving appeal for the wholehearted support by the British Government of the Mutual Aid Agreement, signed between the U.K. and the U.S.A., February, 1942, and envisaging joint leadership by the two great powers in international economic policy. The relevant article falls into two parts, that relating to an expansion of production and employment—admittedly a prior condition—and that relating to a reduction of trade barriers. As a British citizen, he concentrates attack on his own Government and any toying with the idea of Imperial Preference or a British bloc. American Tariffs, he tells us, are a matter of secondary importance, and America anyway is pledged to reduce them. The primary motive in isolationism is timidity or lack of faith in our own powers of economic recovery. The future belongs to the brave. Let us then give a "manly" lead, stand unequivocally for an open and truly international policy, and be assured that this will serve in the long run our own best interests even at the cost of some immediate sacrifice. One question he leaves unanswered. Can we, as a small nation with a declining population, hold our own on equal terms with a great federation or economic block, such as, the U.S.A. or the U.S.S.R.?

B. D.

**THE I. L. O.** By John Price (Oxford University Press 15/-)

John Price has written a first-class reference book on the International Labour Movement covering its trade union and political sides. It is analytical more than historical but it deals exhaustively with the experience of the inter-war years. The Communist International with its trade union and other subsidiaries, is not dealt with, so that the particularly important problem of the split in the working class movement is also largely ignored. Otherwise this is a book which presents all the relevant facts fairly and squarely, and with a constructive purpose. What it lacks is any deeper reflections on the problems raised by past experience.

F. A. D.

**THE SCHELDT QUESTION TO 1839** By S. T. Bindoff (Allen & Unwin 10/6)

When next the problems connected with the Scheldt give rise to trouble between Belgium and Holland, as they have done in the past, the diplomats will have the help of a new book, Mr. S. T. Bindoff's scholarly study *The Scheldt Question to 1839*. The author is a lecturer in history at University College, London. He has presented an impressively objective account of the whole historical background of the Scheldt question. In some respects he adopts the Belgian thesis, in others that of the Dutch. It is undeniable that he has lifted an economic and political controversy to the level of detached scholarship. *The Scheldt Question* will be the authoritative source of information for students and diplomats for generations to come.

A. R.





**THE CHALLENGE OF RED CHINA** By Gunther Stein (Pilot Press 15/-)

**THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS** By Stuart Gelder (Gollancz 7/6)

**THE TEACHINGS OF SUN YAT-SEN** By Prof. Gangulee (Sulvan Press 10/6)

Of these three books, two are by journalists. Stuart Gelder gives speeches by Chinese Communists, which record opinion and avowed intention rather than achievement. Gunther Stein's account is of considerably more interest. He provides an adequate map, covered more ground, talked to more people and gives fuller records of what he saw. Both books are of ephemeral interest. Professor Gangulee on the other hand has provided translations from Sun Yat-Sen's teachings, gleaned from his writings and recorded speeches. These teachings have had a profound influence on the development of modern China, and this book is therefore of great interest. The extracts form no consistent body of thought or philosophy but are none the less illuminating.

E. W. C.

**CO-OPERATION IN THE COLONIES** A Report from a Special Committee to the Fabian Colonial Bureau, with a Preface by C. F. Strickland (George Allen & Unwin 10/6)

There can be no doubt that to secure the future economic prosperity of the Colonial Empire the development of the co-operative movement in the dependent territories will be essential; and, in addition, the organisation of co-operatives will itself provide the politically backward with a training in western concepts of citizenship and responsibility. This volume surveys the present stage of development of the co-operative movement in the Colonial Empire, discusses the scope and meaning of co-operation in the Colonial field, and indicates general and specific lines of advance, and how this advance can be encouraged. It is the first attempt that has yet been made to survey comprehensively the Colonial co-operative movement.

B. A. H.

**EMPIRE: AN AMERICAN VIEW** By Louis Fischer (Dennis Dobson 2/6)

This book is an outspoken criticism of British rule in India. The author's sympathies are entirely with the native Indians (more, one feels, because he dislikes the British than because he understands the situation). The most fruitful part of the study is the comparison between the present situation in India and that in the American Colonies in 1775.

A. R.

**INDIA: A RE-STATEMENT** By Sir Reginald Coupland (Oxford University Press 12/6)

All who are interested in India will be familiar with Sir Reginald Coupland's "Report on the Constitutional Position in India" submitted to Nuffield College in 1942-3. In this volume, the Report is reproduced in summary form; but the whole constitutes a historical discussion of the main facts of India's connection with Britain. It is a readable, and a reasonable, study which, particularly at this juncture, deserves to be widely read.

B. A. H.

**MONTHLY DIGEST OF STATISTICS** No. 1, January, 1946 (H.M.S.O. 2/6)

The first of the new monthly publications prepared in the Central Statistical Office contains 108 Tables concerning Employment, Fuel and Power, Raw Materials, Manufactured Goods, Building, Agriculture and Food, External Trade, Merchant Shipping, Inland Transport, Finance and Wages and Prices. The tables are well laid out, giving annual figures for the war years and monthly figures for 1944 and 1945. Extension of the scope of the Digest is promised. A valuable pamphlet on Definitions of Items and Units is also published (6d). Staple diet for Fabians.

G. D. N. W.